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quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level. For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the character of the grazing but certain features are almost always present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

In the early days of December the women tie together branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λασιές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his station (μπαντζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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This sale of lambs brings in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be persuaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen (στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station. The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brushwood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shepherds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to form more than one flock. At the end of November after they have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the practical division of labour women rather than men care for the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family. They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the hut of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

/46 cont./
[236] [527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re- [232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 233 128 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 232 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders: 1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development. 2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually, give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass.
--species of animals,
--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.
--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[234] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

[434] Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] [415] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
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as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

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As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

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The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

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However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

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437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
474 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
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460 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
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Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide
funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the
suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions
and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first
of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for
if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation
would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a
strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption"
the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the
raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the
tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing.
The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
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462 342 433 562 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 562 433 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 562 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 199 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.

This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

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754 789 827 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success of someone, or on oneself (80)

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 20, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Αἰλιανός IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 755 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention 756 (962) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 788 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

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789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 467 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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771 789 182 198 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [191] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoúdia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

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53 178 517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 462 561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special

182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).

182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the

182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

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121 812 771 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy, but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 812 829 462 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--
See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 829 462 /409/ The following table gives us a concise idea of them:

TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of cooperation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and intense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

I:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

"The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."